## Message Text

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**ACTION EUR-12** 

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-06 EA-06 NEA-10 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 ACDA-05 EB-07

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FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJ: CSCE: PEACEFUL CHANGES OF FRONTIERS - RECORDED IN JOURNAL

REF: GENEVA 5273

1. JUST BEFORE JULY 8 MORNING MEETING OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES, ROMANIAN DEL HANDED FRG DEL A NEW PACKAGE CONCERNING PEACEFUL CHANGES OF FRONTIERS. FORMULATION WILL BECOME FINAL PARAGRAPH OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY PRINCIPLE AND ADOPTS SOLUTION SUGGESTED BY US REP AS DESCRIBED REFTEL. BEGIN TEXT: ACCORDINGLY, THE PARTICIPATING STATES WILL RESPECT EACH OTHER'S RIGHT TO DEFINE AND CONDUCT AS IT WISHES ITS RELATIONS WITH OTHER STATES IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW AND IN THE SPIRIT OF THE PRESENT (TITLE OF DOCUMENT). THEY CONSIDER THAT THEIR FRONTIERS CAN BE CHANGED, IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW, BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND BY AGREEMENT. THEY ALSO HAVE THE RIGHT TO BELONG OR NOT TO BELONG TO INTERCONFIDENTIAL

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NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, TO BE OR NOT TO BE A PARTY TO

BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL TREATIES INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO BE OR NOT TO BE A PARTY TO A TREATY OF ALLIANCES. END TEXT.

- 2. IN INFORMAL MEETING WITH SOVIET AND US REP, FRG REP SAID THIS PROPOSAL WOULD BE TAKEN UP AT FRG CABINET MEETING ON JULY 9 AND FRG HEAD OF DELEGATION WOULD RETURN TO GENEVA ON JULY 10 WITH HIS GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE. US AND USSR DELS POINTED OUT TO FRG DEL THAT THIS PROCEDURE WOULD STALL THE CONFERENCE FOR TWO DAYS AND THAT HE SHOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO SEEK INSTRUCTIONS ON JULY 8. FRG DEL AGREED TO DO SO.
- 3. ROMANIAN DEL IN INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS MADE CLEAR THAT HIS PROPOSAL WOULD NOT BE ADVANCED FORMALLY UNTIL ENTIRE ROMANIAN PROPOSAL WAS REGISTERED IN SPECIAL WORKING BODY. HE SAID THAT SOVIETS WOULD NOT AGREE TO THIS, HOWEVER, UNTIL ROMANIANS GAVE UP THEIR OPPOSITION TO "VOLUNTARY BASIS" IN CBM SUBCOMMITTEE. HE ASKED US DEL TO INTERCEDEWITH SOVIETS. US DEL DESCRIBED ROMANIAN REQUIREMENTS TO SOVIET DEL, AND FRG AND US DELS POINTED OUT TO SOVIETS THAT IF THEY PERSISTED THEY WOULD BE IN THE POSITION OF BLOCKING MOVEMENT ON PEACEFUL CHANGE AND THEREBY CONFERENCE AS A WHOLE. SOVIETS AGREED TO GIVE QUESTION FURTHER CONSIDERATION. AFTER PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING SOVIETS AGREED TO ALLOW REGISTRATION OF ROMANIAN PROPOSAL IF FRG WOULD GUARANTEE THAT IT WOULD SUPPORT FRENCH PROPOSAL ON STAGE III TIMING TO BE TAKEN UP IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETING THAT EVENING.
- 4. JUST PRIOR TO AFTERNOON MEETING OF SPECIAL WORKING BODY, FRG DEL INFORMED SOVIETS THAT HIS DELEGATION COULD NOT MAKE SUCH A GUARANTEE. NEVERTHELESS, US, FRG AND ROMANIAN DELS PRESSED FOR RAPID PROGRESS IN SPECIAL WORKING BODY MEETING. WITH APPARENT ACQUIESCENCE OF SOVIET REP, SPECIAL WORKING BODY QUICKLY AGREED ON AN ENTIRE TEXT FOR ROMANIAN PROPOSAL AND WENT INTO A COFFEE BREAK SO THAT SOVIET, FRG AND ROMANIAN DELS MIGHT SEEK INSTRUCTIONS. DURING COFFEE BREAK US DEL POINTED OUT TO ROMANIANS THAT QRR FORMULATION ALSO HAD TO BE CONFIDENTIAL

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REGISTERED. ROMANIAN DEL RESPONDED THAT HE COULD ABSOLUTELY GUARANTEE THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE NO CHANGES TO MAKE IN THE FORMULATION BUT THAT HE COULD NOT RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS TO REGISTER QRR "BECAUSE THERE ARE FLOODS IN ROMANIA". ROMANIANS, WHO ARE PLAYING A VERY TOUGH GAME, ARE HOLDING QRR PARAGRAPH AS HOSTAGE AGAINST FRENCH POSITION ON FOLLOW-UP.

5. FRG DEL RETURNED TO MEETING SAYING HIS DELEGATION STILL COULD NOT SUPPORT FRENCH PROPOSAL THAT EVENING AND HE SUGGESTED CLOSING MEETING FORTHWITH WITHOUT REGISTRATION OF ROMANIAN PROPOSAL. UPON RESUMPTION OF FORMAL SESSION, MENDELEVITCH ASSUMED THE CHAIR FOR THE USSR AND SUGGESTED THAT ROMANIAN PROPOSAL AND PEACEFUL CHANGES TEXT IN SUBCOMMITTEE A BE TREATED EQUALLY AS "SIAMESE TWINS". ROMANIAN DEL AGREED AND SUGGESTED REGISTRATION OF BOTH PROPOSALS, THUS BRINGING BACK TO LIFE CHANCES OF REGISTRATION OF PEACEFUL CHANGES TEXT. FRG DEL SUGGESTED RECORDING BOTH IN HE JOURNAL AND ROMANIANS ACCEPTED. ROMANIAN PROPOSAL WAS THEN RECORDED IN JOURNAL AS READY FOR REGISTRATION UPON COMPLETION OF THE SECOND READING AMIDST APPLAUSE. US REP THEN MADE AN ORAL STATEMENT THAT HE RESERVED THE RIGHT TO RETURN TO ROMANIAN PROPOSAL IN THE EVENT THAT FRENCH SENTENCE FOR FINAL CLAUSES OF PRINCIPLES DECLARATION (QRR TEXT) WAS NOT SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED. USSR, FRENCH AND UK DELS CONCURRED.

6. SPECIAL WORKING BODY THEN DISBANDED AND RECONVENED AS SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES WITH ONLY SIX MINUTES TO GO BEFORE INTERPRETERS, UNDER TERMS OF THEIR CONTRACT, HAD THE RIGHT TO TAKE DINNER BREAK. US DEL TABLED ROMANIAN TEXT AS QUOTED ABOVE AND CALLED FOR IMMEDIATE REGISTRATION. AFTER RECEIVING SUPPORT FROM SEVERAL DELS, MALTESE AMBASSADOR INTERVENED TO SAY THAT THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME HE HAD SEEN THE TEXT AND HE SAW NO WAY OF AGREEING TO IT THAT EVENING. IN THE WAVE OF CONSTERNATION WHICH FOLLOWED, ANOTHER COFFEE BREAK WAS SUGGESTED. DURING BREAK, UK, US, FRG AND SPANISH DELS IMPLORED MALTESE DEL TO RECONSIDER. MALTESE DEL WANTED AT THE LEAST TO MAKE AN ORAL STATEMENT BUT, AT CONFIDENTIAL

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FRG INSISTENCE, FINALLY DROPPED THIS REQUIREMENT. SUB-COMMITTEE RECONVENED ENTIRELY IN ENGLISH AND FORMALLY NOTED PEACEFUL CHANGES PARAGRAPH IN JOURNAL AS READY FOR PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION AMIDST FURTHER APPLAUSE.DALE

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